

# JEWISH OBSERVER

AND

## MIDDLE EAST REVIEW

Vol. X, No. 41

OCTOBER 13, 1961

Ninepence



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NASSER**

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# COMMENT

## A PREJUDICED DOCUMENT

One must hope that the U.N. Assembly (and the appropriate committee dealing with the Palestine refugee question) will take a firm stand on the report submitted by the Director of UNRWA, Dr. John Davis. It must not only reject the report but it ought also to submit Dr. Davis to a searching interrogation on the assumptions and political conclusions with which he has prefaced the document. For Dr. Davis has prejudiced any attempt by the Assembly to produce a settlement. He has done so not only in this report but also in the propaganda campaign (one cannot really describe it in any other way) with which he has preceded it.

There is hardly an Arab propaganda sheet in any language which has not by now reproduced Dr. Davis's barely disguised attack on the western and Israeli attitudes to the refugee question which he delivered in Geneva last January.

\* \* \*

Yet every one of Dr. Davis's principal assertions had been roundly rejected by the late Secretary-General in his path-breaking report submitted to the fourteenth Assembly on June 15, 1959. In his proposals (which had been prepared by the U.N.'s foremost experts in these matters), Hammarskjöld had underlined that "the reintegration of the Palestine Refugees into productive life, although it must be considered as a fairly long process, is perfectly within reach," and he concluded that the rate of economic growth in the Middle East was not discouraging. He then proceeded to make this significant declaration:

"Viewed in the perspective of what has been said, the unemployed population represented by the Palestinian Refugees should be regarded not as a liability but, more justly, as an asset for the future; it is a reservoir of manpower which in the desirable general economic development will assist in the creation of higher standards for the whole population of the area."

But now comes Dr. Davis with precisely the opposite story. He claims (quite wrongly) that short of offering the refugees an opportunity to return to Israel there is nothing that can be done. He claims (quite wrongly) that there is no economic future for the refugees in the Arab world because it will be impossible to find work for them. How, one wonders, would he explain the labour shortage in Israel after

more than a million new immigrants—the majority of them, refugees—had been integrated into the Israeli economy?

\* \* \*

But even more serious than the political bias and the economic misreading of the situation of the refugees (which stems from it), is the misleading impression given about the status of the refugees, and particularly about the role played by the so-called host governments. Dr. Davis pays somewhat exaggerated tribute to their "deep understanding," "sympathy" and generosity. The brute fact is that out of the total income of UNRWA, which amounted to \$33 million last year, the ten Arab countries, which between them have an annual income of some \$1,400 million in oil royalties and Suez Canal dues, contributed \$750,000—a negligible amount.

Dr. Davis writes also of the financial burden borne by the host countries last year which exceeded five million dollars, but the breakdown of this figure is rather less impressive. In the first place, the figure itself is more than questionable. It is based on calculations provided by the governments concerned, not by the UNRWA auditors. And they are quite inexplicable and unexplained. For example, the security services provided by Egypt during last year have doubled in cost and account for \$80,000. The Jordanians also charge \$100,000 for this purpose. But neither the Syrians nor the Lebanese make any charge. Again, the Syrians charge half a million for housing, but the Jordanians and the Egyptians charge nothing. In fact, none of these so-called contributions makes sense.

\* \* \*

Dr. Davis is however surprisingly discreet in his report about the payments made to the host governments for these self-same services and for some others. The charges, one suspects, would not shock the Assembly by their undue moderation. The fact is—and it needs to be said quite bluntly—that as a report on the refugee situation, Dr. Davis's document conceals more than it reveals. Whether, like some of his predecessors, he does not want to upset the host governments, or whether he believes that the cause of the refugees is best served in this way, is not for us to judge. But surely the U.N. Assembly should take a firmer hand in this matter.

The time has come for a fresh and more thorough approach to UNRWA's activities. A strong, independent, international inquiry commission might be a useful first step to get out of the defeatist morass in which Dr. Davis has landed the United Nations' effort for the Palestine Refugees.



# JEWISH OBSERVER AND MIDDLE EAST REVIEW

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# ISRAEL

## ANTI-MAPAI "CLUB" DISINTEGRATES

### NO ALTERNATIVE AFTER ALL

from our own correspondents

#### Jerusalem :

Two months after the general election, Israel is still without a new administration. Developments this week, which saw the "four party club" broken up in disarray and dissension gathering within the ranks of the Liberal Party, indicated that the shape of the next Cabinet was still a matter for conjecture.

The "four party club" held its last meeting on Tuesday morning. After a meeting of the Liberal Party executive later in the day, a statement was issued blaming the Left-wing parties for the failure of the club because they had refused to consider an alternative to Mapai. This could only mean a coalition with Herut.

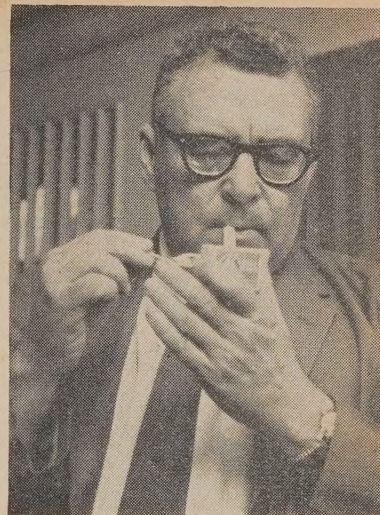
A little later, however, in an astonishing *volte face*, the Liberals announced that a majority of their representatives had endorsed the joint closing statement issued by club members which blamed Mapai for the failure of the club because she refused—according to this account—to enter into a broad coalition.

**Conditional majority rejected:** The club, a weakly creation from its beginning, really expired on Monday when the chief Mapai negotiator, Finance Minister Levi Eshkol, announced that Mapai would have no more dealings with it. He refused to continue discussions which had as their sole aim the formation of a Cabinet in which Mapai would have no greater a say than each of the other partners.

One of the last suggestions put to the club, by Mizrahi's Moshe Shapiro, author of most of the others, was that Mapai should be allowed a majority in the Cabinet but that this majority should not operate when the Cabinet was called upon to decide such political issues as the appointment of officials or the dismissal of ministers.

Mapai categorically rejected this and similar proposals. Akiva Govrin, chairman of Mapai's Knesset faction, pointed out that they would mean, in effect, continuation of the four party club within the Cabinet, an impossible situation.

**Liberals take a vote:** Once it became clear at Monday's meeting that there was

LIBERAL HARRARI  
The last match?

no point in carrying on, the discussion degenerated into an exchange of charges and counter-charges over responsibility for the stalemate.

When the question of "what now?" was put to the Liberal Party executive on Tuesday, it was clear that there was no unanimity among those present. Three proposals were eventually put to the vote: that the party should enter into immediate negotiations for a narrow coalition; that all negotiations should be broken off; that the party should embark on an independent course of action.

It was the last "every man for himself" proposal that won the greatest majority, but there are a number of internal issues that have to be settled before any further progress can be made. One of these is the stubborn anti-Mapai attitude adopted by Pinhas Rosen. Some say that he has not got over the personal hurt he claims to have suffered at the hands of Ben-Gurion during the "Lavon affair." Others, less charitable, say he is determined to lead a non-Mapai Cabinet, even if it be only for a day.

**Mapam's dilemma:** This sort of attitude has already been strongly attacked by powerful voices within the party. Some, such as *Ha'aretz* publisher Gershon Shoken, have pointed out the harm done to the party by its membership of the "four party club" which compromised its stance as the sole "alternative" to Mapai.

On the Left, Mapam is ready to enter into any sort of coalition that will "keep Mapai in its place." This, as far as

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Mapam is concerned, means the dumping of Ben-Gurion and a minority say for Mapai in government affairs. If it were not for the predictable reaction of its rank and file, some Mapam leaders would even consider a coalition with Herut to achieve its aims.

Ahdut Avoda, which seems to have run out of ideas altogether, recognises that there is no alternative to a coalition



MAGICIAN ESHKOL  
*Coalition to the Right—or the Left?*

with Mapai. And so, too, deep down, do the Mapam leaders. What they dread is the day they will have to recognise this publicly.

**Intellectuals take initiative:** In Mapai, opinion continues to be divided on what is the best course to follow. There are those, like Dayan and Almogi, who suggest that Mapai return its mandate to the President in the certain knowledge that none of the other parties could successfully form a government. Mapai would then be in a stronger position when called upon by the President a second time.

Others suggest that Mapai should proceed to the negotiation of a narrow coalition, some favouring a coalition of the Left, others a coalition with the Liberals.

Meanwhile, there has been a new development among Left-wing intellectuals of all three parties, led by the popular poet and critic, Nathan Alterman (Mapai), Moshe Shamir (Mapam) and Haim Guri (Ahdut Avoda). They have come out strongly in support of a Left-wing Cabinet and sought to call a meeting of their colleagues in order to further the idea. The politicians, however,

objected and the meeting has not taken place.

**Hard choice to make:** But there are many in Mapai who support their views, some because they want to see the re-establishment of "peace" and stability within the Histadrut, others because they believe it might force the Liberals into the arms of Herut and thus give Israel the basis for a strong two-party system which they think necessary.

Taking a short term view, most of Mapai's leaders would prefer a coalition with the Liberals and the National Religious Party, despite the price that would be exacted on economic and religious issues. Their major concern at this juncture is for the safekeeping of the defence establishment and this sort of coalition, they feel, would enable this to be assured.

On the long term view, however, the Left-wing coalition is regarded as preferable. It would force the three workers' parties to live together and lead the other parties either into support or opposition.

**Eshkol's alternatives:** Thus, while the Liberals would be expected to team up with Herut, it is thought likely that the Leftist section of the former Progressive Party would come over to Mapai. Even the religious parties might be divided into "workers" and "businessmen," with each group making its separate choice.

The Mizrahi's concern is more immediate and more practical. All it is concerned about is that it should not be left out of the government, whatever government. At one point, Mapai seemed to be seriously considering a coalition with Mizrahi and Poale Agudat Israel. This would have given it 60 votes, one short of an overall majority. The fate of the government would then have been in the hands of Agudat Israel, a position which no administration could tolerate.

What happens next depends on Levi Eshkol. He could return the mandate to the President; he could establish a narrow coalition with the Mizrahi leaving portfolios vacant for the Liberals should they decide to come in; or he could make a sudden swing to the Left. It has happened before. To say which course he will follow would, at this stage, be pure guesswork.

**Sober considerations:** The underlying cause of the delay in establishing a new administration seems to be Israel's constitution—largely underwritten—which allows the State to be run indefinitely by a government not enjoying the Knesset's confidence. When the present crisis is over (which may not be before the holding of new elections), this subject is sure to be brought up for sober consideration.

## EX-U.A.R.

### DIPLOMATIC DIARY

SEPTEMBER 28 (*morning*): President Nasser declared: "I am unable to dissolve the U.A.R. This is beyond my authority. . . . I am responsible before every Syrian, every Egyptian and every Arab for the protection of the U.A.R."

SEPTEMBER 28 (*afternoon*): President Nasser stated: "What happened this morning admits of no bargaining or compromise. I reject the argument of bargains and compromises."

SEPTEMBER 28 (*evening*): Jordan recognised Syria's independence.

SEPTEMBER 29: Turkey recognised the new Syrian Government.

OCTOBER 1: President Nasser issued decrees severing relations with Jordan and Turkey for their recognition of an independent Syria, "a hostile action against the U.A.R. and interference in its domestic affairs."

OCTOBER 2: Persia recognised Syria.

OCTOBER 5: Nasser announced that no political or economic blockade would be imposed on Syria. It was not inevitable that Syria should remain part of the U.A.R. He would not oppose Syrian application for membership of the U.N. or the Arab League. But he would withhold recognition from any government that was not freely elected by the Syrian people.

So far, he said, only five countries had recognised Syria. "I call them countries figuratively. They are the remnants in Amman of the family treacherous to Arab history, the government of Chang Kai Shek which was ejected from China to Formosa, the military government in Turkey, the government of the American United Fruit Company in Guatemala and the government of Israel's friends in Teheran."

OCTOBER 7: The Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia recognised Syria.

OCTOBER 8: The East German Government recognised Syria.

OCTOBER 9: Recognition was announced by remaining members of the Soviet bloc.

OCTOBER 10: Syria was recognised by the U.S., Iraq and Spain.





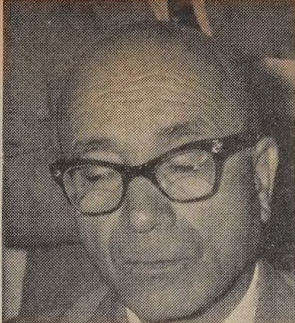
KUWATLY—Interior



SULTANI—Justice



ZAMARYA—Finance



NAZIF—Agriculture



BARAKAT—Economy

TOP MEN IN SYRIA'S NEW CABINET

## BALANCE SHEET OF DISCONTENT

### SYRIANS NAME THEIR GRIEVANCES

*from a special correspondent*

Syria revolted not against President Nasser or Arab unity, but against the rigorous application of policies which seemed determined to reduce the Northern Region of the U.A.R. to an agricultural hinterland which would provide not only food for an industrialised Egypt but also land and work for its millions of unemployed peasants.

This is the pattern emerging from carefully drawn economic analyses being made available in Damascus and to be reflected in a thoroughgoing examination of the three years of "partnership" between the two countries now in the course of implementation.

The Syrians believe, and are setting out to prove, that the Egyptian purpose was the complete destruction of Syrian industrialisation and the reduction of the people's standard of living to that of the Egyptian peasant.

**Paralysing the economy:** The conviction seems to be firmly planted in the Syrian mind that Egypt's major purpose was to convert Syria into her market garden, an enterprise which (as was foreshadowed in the early days of union) would require the transfer of some four to five million Egyptian land workers to Syria.

Using this basic purpose as their starting point, the Syrians point to the many measures ordered from Cairo which seemed intended to paralyse the Syrian economy—the restrictions on trading in foreign markets, the exclusion of Syrian goods in favour of Egyptian products, the heavy subsidies granted to Egyptian exporters, the replacement of Syrian commercial attaches by Egyptians.

Within the past week, Syrian economists have pointed out that the country's

export-import trade, once worth \$£1,200 million, has, since the act of union, dropped to less than half.

**No consultation:** They point also to the almost indiscriminate extension of Egyptian legislation to Syria without study of local conditions and, often, without consultation with ministers responsible for Syrian affairs. They cite particularly the decree nationalising Syrian industries.

But whatever the will to revolt among the Syrian merchants and businessmen (further hit by restrictions on foreign currency dealings), their capacity to do so was nil without the support and initial leadership of the army.

**Fraud charge:** Here they were in luck. Just as the commercial community saw what they believed to be the policy of erosion by which the Egyptians would reduce them in status to the level of the Egyptian peasant, so the Syrian Army saw its prestige reduced and its future imperilled by a creeping process of "egyptianisation."

Senior Syrian officers have suggested

that the Egyptians—as a matter of high policy—worked a gigantic fraud on the Syrian budget. While defence accounted for 54 per cent of the Syrian budget, it took only 17 per cent of the Egyptian budget.

The Egyptians then proceeded to requisition what they required from the Syrian Army, according to these officers. In other words, the Syrian budget was made to pay for Egyptian defence requirements and the Egyptians could use the funds they would have had to find otherwise on industrialisation and other projects.

**In agreement:** There was also growing resentment within the Syrian Army at the ousting of Syrian officers and their replacement by Egyptians and about the direct lines of communication between these Egyptian officers and the War Minister, which by-passed the normal channels of communication.

For once, the aims of the Right-wing business community and the predominantly Left-wing Army coincided. The Egyptians had got to be got rid of.

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## NASSER RENDERS ACCOUNT

"Despite the three and half years of the merger, real work was done in Syria such as never before had been witnessed in her history." So said President Nasser in a speech last Thursday.

Among the benefits which he claimed to have brought to Syria were those, such as nationalisation of banks and business houses, which the Syrians now produce as being among the reasons for the revolt.

He also stated—and asked that an Arab League inquiry committee should confirm—that the Syrian Treasury received from the Egyptian Treasury on the morning of the merger just over £2 m. to meet the deficit in the Syrian budget; that the Egyptian Region offered the Syrian Region commodities valued at £3m. a year to help with the burden of reconstruction; and that Egypt offered Syria £1½m. in currency transfers to enable her to meet import requirements.

**Figures for figures:** Nasser also asked the Arab League committee to confirm that the merger enabled the Syrian Region to reduce its defence obligations by nearly £7m. a year and that these funds were devoted to production and public services.

He spoke with regret of his ideas for increasing Syria's national income in ten years or less, for giving her a share in Suez Canal revenues and for helping in the construction of the Euphrates Dam.

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YESTERDAY THEY APPLAUDED, TODAY THEY JEER  
Damascus urchins with a defaced statue of Nasser

## HOW EGYPTIANS MUST EXPLAIN SYRIA TO THEMSELVES

NASSER'S "HERO PERSONALITY" WAS NOT ENOUGH

by Mohammed Hassanein Heikal\*

How easy it is to write in periods of peace and how difficult it is to write in times of crisis. In times of peace, to write is identical to the enjoyment of the song of the birds in the morning.

In circumstances of crisis however, things differ. To write becomes an onerous task, particularly if the writer strives, through his limited human energy, not to give rein to his sentiments, in other words not to surrender to depressing despair or to deceptive hope, and if he does not want his feeling of bitterness to shatter principles and ideals and does not want to shed tears or resort to abuse.

This is what I feel now as my pen runs over the paper.

**Imperialist trap:** Should I say that the storm in Syria was expected or that imperialist and reactionary elements in the region had to muster forces in a bid to launch a concentrated attack on the United Arab Republic, the base and vanguard of Arab struggle?

This is what I said last March in an article entitled "Spring Attack". I said at that time that the calm which reigned

was not real and that the slogans about Arab solidarity adopted by certain reactionary "palaces" had sinister implications.

I added that imperialism had invariably tried every spring to launch a military, a psychological or an economic attack on Arab nationalism and was now trying to attack in a novel manner. The new policy was to test rapprochement so that the United Arab Republic might be lured into a situation in which it might lose its effective status.

**Intelligence report ignored:** This is exactly what I said in March, 1961. Shall I now boast saying: "Didn't I warn you?"

I don't repeat this to cry over spilt milk but simply for the purpose of deriving benefit from the lesson of the past and so that we may be ever alert avoiding surrender or middle solutions!

Shall I ask: Where was the machinery of the Intelligence Department? It may seem strange to say that there was actually a report submitted by a responsible member of the Intelligence which included certain information about the very persons who have led this mutinous movement in Damascus, but it was not given serious attention.

**Police operation:** Shall I shout "How

\* Editor-in-chief of the Cairo newspaper *Al-Ahram* and one of Egypt's most sober political commentators in an editorial on October 6.



has this happened?" Indeed, such a thing takes place everywhere, even among the great powers.

Nevertheless, shall I say that I can almost hear my inner conscience whispering "This is for the better, as union should never become a police operation".

Several people however, may shout in my face saying that union should have been protected from its enemies.

**False picture:** However, let me explain, let me say in the first place that the union which took place in February, 1958, was such a simple enterprise that its very simplicity presented a false picture to the Arab world.

It was almost a dream very easily come true. However, if the dream came true, why didn't we hold fast to it?

As a matter of fact this was exceedingly difficult as the Arab nation had not yet acquired the elements ensuring real implementation of union among its peoples.

**Bases were lacking:** There should have been deep intellectual, economic and social bases for union, all of which were lacking.

There was, however, a stage of danger and a sentimental flare-up.

The danger stemmed from the Baghdad Pact supported by the Hashemite family which had sold the rich legacy of Islam and Arabism for crowns and thrones, and it also stemmed from communist organisations, led by the Syrian Communist Party.

The combined dangers, following the Suez aggression, brought about the sentimental flare-up as a reaction.

**What it achieved:** At that time, union was like a normal defence operation succeeding in achieving the following results:

1. It shattered the Baghdad Pact and eliminated the octopus of the Hashemite family from Iraq.
2. It forced the communist threat to recede from Syria, even dealing it a stunning blow in Iraq.

However, real union demanded something more than mere defence operations. What it was in need of at that stage was something more than an imminent threat or a sentimental flare-up.

**Five years, said Nasser:** The situation in Syria left so much to be desired that leaders considered union to be the sole avenue which would save the position.

At that time, Gamal Abdel Nasser told them that greater efforts were needed in a bid to pave the way to real union. It should take at least five years to lay sound political, economic and popular foundations.

This, however, was not heeded, in fact, those striving to see union achieved

with one another to bring it about with the least possible delay, some of them cherishing the hope of being rewarded for their efforts by being given positions of authority.

**No real ties:** Let me also declare that at that time there were no real and positive ties between the peoples of Syria and Egypt, with the exception of one thing, namely Gamal Abdel Nasser's personality and popularity.

Despite my indisputable admiration for Gamal Abdel Nasser, I am bound to say that "hero personality" is not by itself sufficient to create Arab union. In fact, "hero personality" can never become the foundation for union.

It is true that "hero personality" leads and inspires, but it should lead overwhelmingly popular masses and inspire real sound bases.

**Turning point:** Now, I shall thank God for the fact that at the crucial moment, Gamal Abdel Nasser acted as a real son of the Arab nation by stopping resort to any military operation.

This was a manly stand which should be looked upon as a turning point in history.

All preparations had been made; land, naval and air forces had also started to move. The storm troops could have held Latakia until the arrival of the other forces which could easily have nipped the mutinous movement in the bud.

**Two questions:** However, in a moment of divine inspiration, the whole course of Arab history was altered, when Gamal Abdel Nasser intervened and ordered all operations to be stopped.

He obviously asked himself the following two questions:

1. Shall I allow forces from the Second Army of the United Arab Republic to clash with forces from the First Army?

He answered himself as follows:

It is not for such a purpose that the U.A.R. army stands as a bulwark, the strong U.A.R. army is intended to stand in the face of imperialist and Zionist aggression.

2. What would be the price of victory?

Obviously, the price, whatever the results might be, would be paid by the entire Arab nation. It would pay it with the blood of its sons and would pay it for ever in dissension. The battle might have led to discrimination between "Egyptian" and "Syrian", particularly as a result of bloodshed.

**Danger of blood feud:** After replying to these two questions he gave orders for the immediate suspension of all operations.

In view of the above I shall say: Thank God, reason has overruled pride and the long Arab history has overcome the emotional reaction of the moment?

What is important at this moment, as stated by Abdel Nasser is that "We should have a measure of manliness enabling us to face our enemies and also to face ourselves."

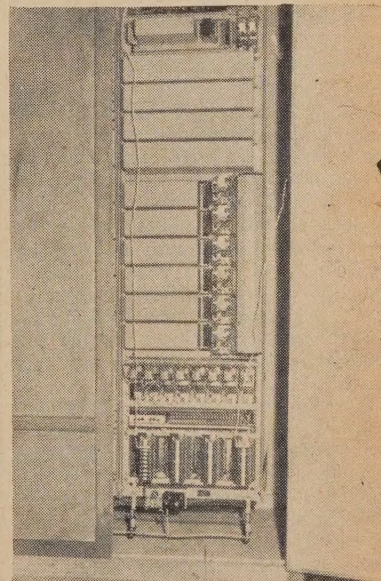
## NASSER: WHAT NOW?

### BETWEEN EXALTATION AND MORTIFICATION

by Jon Kimche

It was just three years ago, immediately after an emergency meeting of the Security Council on Syria and just before Dag Hammarskjöld was to leave on another of his Middle East missions, that I asked him at the end of a longish private talk for his assessment of President Nasser. Was Nasser, I asked, big enough to cope with the enormous problems which he had to face in Egypt, and now in Syria as well?

Hammarskjöld thought for some time before he answered. Then he said that, until that summer of 1958—that is until after the union with Syria—he had thought that Nasser might rise to the occasion. But he had come to the conclusion that he had been wrong, and that Nasser was not of big enough calibre to



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Warrior



Statesman

# WHICH IS THE REAL FACE OF NASSER?

become the Arab Bismarck. I then asked Hammarskjold what had caused him to change his mind? Again he answered slowly, as if he was thinking aloud.

Nasser, he replied, was no longer fully in control. In his latest encounter he had noticed that he relied increasingly on information and advice from others. He was no longer as *en courant* with what was going on as he had used to be. He seemed more isolated, more remote from the people, and much less aware of what was going on around him. That was one reason. But there was a second, and more fundamental reason.

**Road to nowhere in particular:** Nasser in Hammarskjold's opinion, had ceased in 1958 to be a genuine leader. He was no longer making the crowd follow him where he wanted to go. Nasser, Hammarskjold said, was playing the role which the mob wanted him to play. He was leading them in the way they wanted to be led. And this led to nowhere in particular. He could not see Nasser playing a profound and constructive role in the Arab future.

Was Hammarskjold wrong in this estimate of Nasser? Reading the adjectives that have been lavished on the Egyptian President since his progressive pronouncements not to challenge the new Syrian regime by force or to obstruct its entry into the Arab League or the United Nations, one would think so. Nasser has been hailed for his statesmanship, for his wisdom, for his historic appreciation of the needs of Arabism. He has paved the way for a reconciliation with Syria. He has emerged with credit and he has emerged with his stature greatly enhanced.

It would not do to question these comments. They come from every part of the world—except the Soviet bloc (perhaps they know better?). There can be no question that the editorialists in London, Washington, Bonn and Oslo have been quite genuinely impressed. So has western public opinion; so have, one hopes, even the Israelis. For it is so rare these days that one comes across so superb a piece

of political handling of a difficult, a very difficult, situation. It seemed as if President Nasser was much more in touch with western public opinion than with the mood of the Northern Region of the United Arab Republic. He has clearly learned much more from the steady procession of western journalists, publicists and televisionists who have come to interview him than they learned from him.

**Moscow forced the pace:** Yet Hammarskjold was not a man who made snap or superficial judgments. Perhaps he understood better than the western commentators what was the essence of the man, and, guided by his judgment, we might look a little closer at Nasser's latest and unquestioned triumph in the face of adversity. After all, it is not the first time it has happened.

Without going into all the complicated evolutions on the home front with which Colonel Nasser eliminated his opposition and his rivals, we can take the Suez situation as our starting point. Within a matter of hours after the shattering defeat of his armed forces in November 1956, he had convinced the greater part of the world that he had won a major victory, and at least two-thirds of the population of the world accepted his claim and still does.

We still do not know all the facts that led to the sudden union with Syria in 1958, but we know enough to reject the popular story that Nasser went into the merger in order to save Syria from the communists. For it was, as was known at the time, the pressure from Moscow more than anything else that persuaded Nasser. It was expected that the Baghdad Pact powers were planning a take-over of Syria, and Moscow was concerned to forestall the move. It was this that gave the last push to the act of union which was again a feather in Nasser's cap.

**What sort of man?** And from all accounts it was a somewhat similar push from Moscow which led Nasser into his retreat from force two weeks ago. He was probably the most surprised man in

all Egypt when he saw the impact which his retreat had made. He helped, of course, by his able handling of the withdrawal operation. But in the final analysis, victories are not won by retreats, however skilfully conducted.

The fact is that this proves Hammarskjold's estimate of Nasser. He has again played the part which the Arab crowd wanted him to play: the peacemaker, the compromiser—not the warrior. It is precisely this that is so significant. Nasser as the campaigner for Arab unity has given way to the Nasser who no longer wants to fight for it.

In the three years of union he had not solved, or even advanced the solution, of any of Syria's major problems. The same is even more true of Egypt herself. Nasser's real stature was briefly revealed in his attack on Hussein and the Turks for recognising the new regime. But when Kruschev and his satellites stepped in, Nasser took it like a man—but like what sort of man?

**Heikal's hint:** That is now the big question. Perhaps something of the answer can be read in the strange article by the journalist who is closest to him, and who often acted as his adviser. The article by Hassanein Heikal, the editor of *al Ahram*, is clearly trying to say something to Nasser; but what is the message? Is it, in effect, the same thing that Hammarskjold said to me?

Is Heikal saying to Nasser that "these, your personal triumphs, are all very well; it is nice to have *The Times*, the *Guardian*, the B.B.C. and *Tribune* appreciate you in this way. But it solves none of our problems, no more than did the cheers that greeted you on your last triumphal journey through Syria. But you have done nothing to carry through the real revolution. You have not changed our economic basis despite all your proclamations."

Is Heikal, in fact, telling Nasser that it is time he went? It could be. It could be that the Syrian revolution is only the small beginning of something much bigger that is to come.



# IN THE NEWS

## INTELLECTUALS SIMONISED

THE BUZZ OF EXCITEMENT which greeted the end of Professor Simon's lecture on the role of the Jewish intelligentsia (or was it the Jewish intellectuals?) in the diaspora was a sure sign that this opening event of the Zionist Federation's "Education Fortnight" had started something. It was a pity in a way that the chairman did not allow the discussion which the speaker had invited. For there was much that was provocative and something that was debatable in the Simonised version of the Jewish intellectuals.

On the whole, the diaspora intellectuals did not do too well at the professor's hands. They were either too far ahead of their fellow beings (Trosky, Gustav Landauer and Harold Laski were his examples) and thus out of step. They ended, in Simon's view, defeated and without having achieved their aims. The other types of intellectuals were those who were pathetically ignorant of their Jewish inheritance. But, in particular, Simon's strongest criticism was reserved for what he called the new trend of uneducated specialists, those experts who know everything about their own subject and nothing about anything beyond that.

### PRESSURES OF CONFORMITY

The real intellectual had to be committed to a cause, he had to be interested beyond his own immediate professional interests. He had to have a composite picture of the world and of his place in it. But this was almost impossible for the Jewish intellectual in the diaspora. His efforts were constantly frustrated by an inbred quality, by a living on two distinct levels, a Jewish one and that of his non-Jewish surroundings. It was at this point that one would take issue with Simon. I think he underrated the obstacles and difficulties of the intellectual in Israel and overrated those outside Israel. In particular, I felt that he overlooked the pressures of conformity which exist in Israel.

The fact is that the Jewish intellectual in the diaspora is often only the other side of the picture of the intellectual in Israel; his continued existence is to some extent a reflection of the intellectual atmosphere in Israel. One wonders whether the intellectual incursion into Israeli politics during the Lavon affair, to which Professor Simon referred, was not as out-of-

step as some of Laski's unfortunate experiences over here.

Most impressive was Simon's appeal to the diaspora intellectuals to let their minds interplay with their colleagues in Israel, and he argued that this could be done only in Hebrew, not in any translation. But I think he overrated again the impact of the new Israeli writers outside Israel. Their message—even of the best of them—has not crossed the border to any significant extent. Why is that? Is it that their thought is tied to the land—or to the language—and does not bear translation in any form? One would have liked to pursue these questions with this provocatively stimulating lecturer.

### BASIS OF MUTUAL TRUST

But on one point I found myself profoundly at odds with Professor Simon. He argued that one advantage of Hebrew is that Jews can only exercise complete self-criticism within the privacy of the Hebrew language. I think this is quite wrong. The essence of self-criticism is that it should be public for it benefits the public as much as it does ourselves. It is an argument we have often had in this journal and experience has shown that honest self-criticism has always done far more good than harm. It is the only basis of mutual trust with those among whom we have to live. It is not something that can be effective if it is for private consumption only, a kind of "closed politics," as C. P. Snow calls it. One could not find a better argument for this than Professor Simon's inaugural lecture. The only losers were those who did not hear it.

### FYVEL'S CHOICE

A TYPICAL EXAMPLE of the intellectual not covered by Professor Simon's formula is Tosco Fyvel whose book on the international "Teddy-boy" problem\* has been received with remarkable acclaim in every quarter—ranging from the *New Statesman* through the *Daily Telegraph* to the churches and the Conservative Central Office. I am not surprised. For Fyvel has just that kind of critical and analytical mind which Simon classified as characteristic of the true intellectual. Fyvel's is a restless, disturbing, searching and cynical mind. It is not an easy mind



TOSCO FYVEL  
*Why London and not Jerusalem?*

to live with, for it will persist in asking those uncomfortable and disconcerting questions which are the essence of self-criticism. It is something quite different from the angry young or middle-aged men who are just angry. Fyvel belongs to an entirely different school—a very representative school of Jewish intellectuals: lively minds and honest intellects in search of a cause.

Fyvel is very frank about his search. He wrote of it in *No Ease in Zion* and also in his *Malady of Vision*. He did not hit it off with Ben-Gurion when he worked on his staff in 1936 and his reason for not staying on in Palestine, as it was then, is, he feels in retrospect, that there was no future for him there as a critical writer. There were other futures, but these he did not want. Fyvel is not the only one of this class. Laqueur, Lichtheim, Meir Mindlin and others seem to have reached the same conclusion. One would like to closet them with Simon and hammer out the causes that have produced this regrettable condition.

Israel cannot really afford these exports, no matter what the establishment there feels about them. Now that the *Insecure Offenders* has established Fyvel as one of our foremost social critics, perhaps the Israeli intellectuals will also take a second look at him and ask themselves how it came that he should have done this in London and not in Jerusalem. They may learn a lot from the answer.

\* The *Insecure Offenders* by T. R. Fyvel, 347 pp., index (Chatto & Windus) 25s.



# REFUGEES

## DR. DAVIS REPORTS TO THE ASSEMBLY

### GIVES ADVICE, ASKS FOR GUIDANCE

Dr. John H. Davis, Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, submitted his annual report to the President of the General Assembly on August 26.

Last week, it was made public in New York and, within the next few weeks, it will form the basis upon which the U.N. will debate the refugee issue.

Dr. Davis, in a letter to the Assembly President, said that in his introduction to the report he had "endeavoured to evaluate the present condition of the Palestine refugees, and their need for continued international assistance in the light of certain factors which I consider relevant to any general review of the problem."

**Repatriation "overwhelming desire":** The following is a summary of that introduction with quotations from Dr. Davis:

The Agency's objectives were intended to centre about the two focal points of *Relief*, to alleviate suffering, and *Works*, to provide employment. However, Works projects "for the purpose of direct resettlement were in principle unacceptable to the refugees (their one overwhelming desire being repatriation), to the Arab people generally, and therefore to the Arab Governments, who consider that resettlement projects contravene Paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) concerning the refugees' rights to repatriation or compensation."

Despite this and other limiting factors on employment, "virtually every adult refugee who in 1948 had a skill needed in the Arab world soon found a job and he and his family have been self-supporting ever since. Furthermore, almost all young refugees who in the intervening years have received specialised training—unfortunately only some 3,000—have become self-supporting."

**Half refugees are children:** In general, "the 70 odd per cent of all adult refugees who became dependent on UNRWA were farmers, small shopkeepers, unskilled workers, and herders, together with the sick and the old. In general, the areas into which they were crowded were already saturated with persons possessing such skills."

Today, "of the more than one million



ALWAYS SOMETHING TO SHOUT ABOUT  
Dr. Davis is listening

refugees now registered with the Agency, approximately half are adults and half are children, if one defines adulthood as starting at about 18 years. Of the 500,000 adults dependent on UNRWA, three out of five have matured to adulthood as refugees.

"In general, these adults are more literate than their parents, but less skilled in the art of making a living. . . . Of the children now registered, 30,000 will become adults each year and taking their place will be another 30,000 to 35,000 new-born babies."

**Ladder of progress:** One factor which has operated to keep refugees, both young and old, idle in camps and villages "has been the relatively modest rate at which new jobs have been created, generally, in the Middle East during the past thirteen years."

Political forces have also played a role in perpetuating the problem of the Palestine refugees, reflecting and underlining the basic feelings of the Arab people. "For thirteen years the lot of the Palestine refugees has been one of frustration, uncertainty, disappointment and hardship.

"They have been subjected to the privation of living for years on international charity—for the most part in enforced idleness . . . (UNRWA *per capita* assistance having averaged less than \$30 per person per year over the eleven-year period as a whole) . . ."

**Demands "not surprising":** It was "hardly a matter for surprise if the refugees show embitterment and resentment over the loss of their homes and homeland, if they constantly clamour to

return to them, or if these attitudes are reflected in political circles.

"Nor is it surprising that the refugees still strongly demand the right of choice between repatriation and compensation held out to them by the United Nations under paragraph 11 of the General Assembly resolution 194 (III)—a right which has never been implemented."

The feeling of the refugees regarding the Palestine issue were closely paralleled by "the feelings of Arab people generally."

**Years to untangle:** When "one takes into account the complex of factors, both political and socio-economic, which have had a bearing on the Palestine refugee problem during the past thirteen years, there is little mystery as to why these unfortunate people have continued to remain as refugees. Even if by good fortune a satisfactory political solution to the problem were found soon, the cumulative socio-economic aspects of the problem which now exist would take some years to untangle.

"When account is taken of the entire array of complicated problems facing the host Governments, not only with respect to refugees, but encompassing the whole struggle for development and progress, it seems clearly unrealistic to assume that the major responsibility for solving the refugee problem should now rest with the host Governments."

In this report, "the Director of UNRWA has dealt with UNRWA affairs without attempting to present any general solution to the Palestine refugee problem, since responsibility for the latter rests elsewhere within the United Nations."

**Why they failed:** But, "even so, the general observations . . . which are based on the Agency's experience, should also be pertinent to any general solution; and none more than the conclusion that any solution, if it is to be effective, must take adequately into account the deep feelings and aspirations of the peoples of the Middle East as a whole. In the Director's opinion, it has been the failure to do this that has determined the failure of the several solutions to the problem which have been proposed in the past."

For some time to come there might be no practical alternative to the present programme of relief and educational services. "In the opinion of the Director of UNRWA, it is within this frame of reference that the General Assembly should study the Palestine refugee problem for the purpose of giving guidance to UNRWA during the remainder of its present mandate period" and for determining assistance after the Agency's mandate expires in June, 1963.



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**MR. A. MIRON**, *Israel Minister in the U.K.*

**ALD. L. SHERMAN, J.P., L.C.C.**, *His Worship the Mayor of Hackney.*

TUESDAY 24th OCTOBER

11.30 a.m.—10.30 p.m.

**MR. A. A. HAGGIN**, *Economic Counsellor to the Israel Embassy.*

**CLLR. JOHN W. COX, J.P.**, *His Worship the Mayor of Stoke Newington.*

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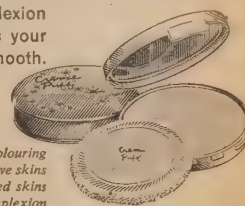
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# ASSEMBLY

## ISRAEL'S "LET'S TALK" PLEA TO ARABS

**GOLDA MEIR'S BID  
FOR NON-AGGRESSION PACT**

*from our own correspondent*

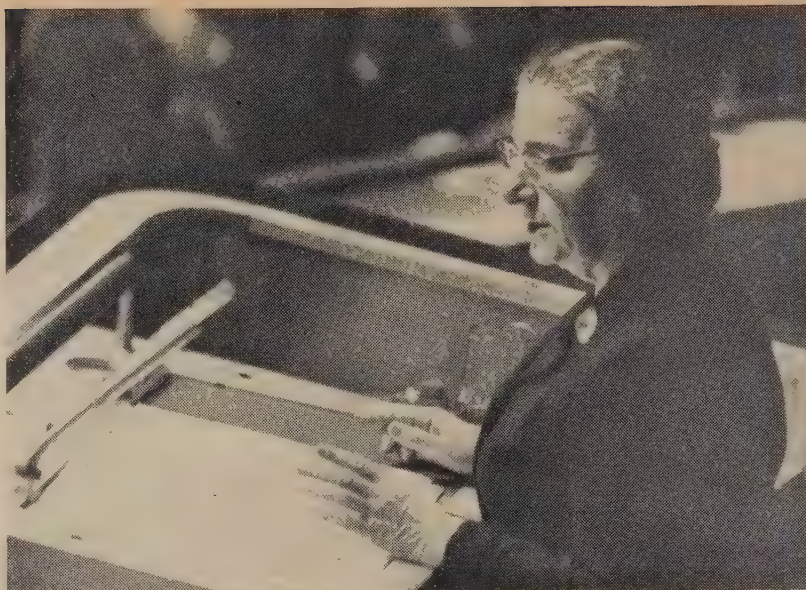
### United Nations, New York :

Expressing Israel's belief that negotiation is the only alternative to war, Foreign Minister Golda Meir, addressing the General Assembly on Monday, invited the Arab countries to talk about any and every outstanding issue between them without attaching prior conditions.

Even if the Arab states were not ready to talk peace, she said, there were steps that could be taken to relax tensions, allay mutual fears and pave the road to peace. And, high amongst these, she proposed a non-aggression pact, the parties to which would undertake to respect each other's territorial integrity and political independence, refrain from all hostile acts, settle all differences by pacific means and cease incitement.

The Middle East could serve as a "pilot project" for world disarmament, she declared, and Israel was prepared to elaborate a programme to that end in which she invited the Arab states to join.

**Any time, any place :** "No Arab-Israel issue can be solved without negotiation," Mrs. Meir told the Assembly. "Every one of the issues can be solved by nego-



MRS. MEIR ADDRESSING THE ASSEMBLY  
*Any time, any place, any Arab leader and no prior conditions*

tiation. For our part we remain ready to negotiate at any time or place, with any Arab leader and without prior conditions in order to settle the differences between us."

Although she reserved specific comments on the Arab refugee issue for the coming debate on that topic, the Israel Foreign Minister did refer to the political machinations by which the "Arab refugees are being kept as a potential spearhead for another attack on Israel."

She pointed out, too, that the number of Arabs who left Palestine was about equal to the number of Jews received by

Israel from the Arab countries. "We received these Jewish refugees as our brothers, took care of them and rehabilitated them. Had the Arab countries acted likewise, the Arab refugee problem would no longer be with us."

**Challenge on Arabs :** Mrs. Meir, who was warmly received by the Assembly, also took up earlier criticisms voiced by Arab spokesmen of the treatment by Israel of its Arab population.

The recent border incidents in which Israeli patrols shot five Arab youths crossing illegally into the Gaza Strip was "another regrettable result of the border warfare which is part of the belligerence practised by the Arab states against Israel," she said.

Mrs. Meir challenged any Arab country to match the progress in universal free compulsory education, health services, economic welfare, rate of employment, standards of living or status of women accorded to Israel's Arabs who accounted for about twelve per cent of the population.

**Battered image of unity :** The Israel Foreign Minister stressed that Israeli-Arab disputes did not constitute the sole source of tension in the Middle East. The region was subject to recurrent crises which damaged the picture of Arab unity, the image of which "is a somewhat battered one... hostility to Israel is, at least in part, an attempt by Arab leaders to divert the attentions of their peoples from their own unresolved problems."

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admitted nations, the Israeli representative reminded the Assembly, as Israel has done before, that the Middle East was more than an Arab area. It had more non-Arab inhabitants than Arabs and Israel enjoyed relations of friendship with all Middle Eastern peoples "except those belonging to the Arab League."

But her main theme, to which she kept returning, was Israel's desire for, and readiness to talk about, an advance toward peaceful relations with the Arab states. She appealed for a fresh effort on the part of Israel and her Arab neighbours to bring about regional co-operation in development programmes, particularly with regard to water resources.

**"Congo for Congolese":** At the same time, she cautioned the Assembly against minimising the dangers of Arab belligerence and its implications not only for Israel but for the United Nations and world peace. But it was the duty of the smaller nations not only to exhort the major powers to negotiate, but to practise what they themselves preached.

"Let no one of us preach the duty of negotiation to others, whilst at the same time refusing to apply it to the conflicts in which he himself is involved," said Mrs. Meir in an obvious reference to Arab initiative at the Belgrade conference where an appeal was made to the great powers to enter into immediate negotiations.

In comment on other matters of international concern, Mrs. Meir made the following points:

**CONGO:** Israel's policy was to support the stand of "Congo for the Congolese."

**ANGOLA:** Israel hoped for its speedy independence, in line with her policy of supporting freedom and self-determination for all peoples.

**UNITED NATIONS:** Hammarskjöld's death had been a "human tragedy and a great loss to the world." The U.N. had now to fill the void left by his passing. Israel believed there should be one secretary-general. She could not accept the "troika" concept or the view that the world was divided into three blocs.

## TURKS ASK: WHY PICK ON US?

### SYRIA RECOGNITION AIRED AT U.N.

*from our own correspondent*

**New York:**

Praise Assembly President Mongi Slim, handsomely or moderately; praise

Hammarskjöld—tempered perhaps by bloc considerations; praise peace; pray for Berlin, disarmament and atomic agreement, and then weave in your own, and your neighbour's, particular interests, but do not say anything very new, otherwise you will be liable to be called confused.

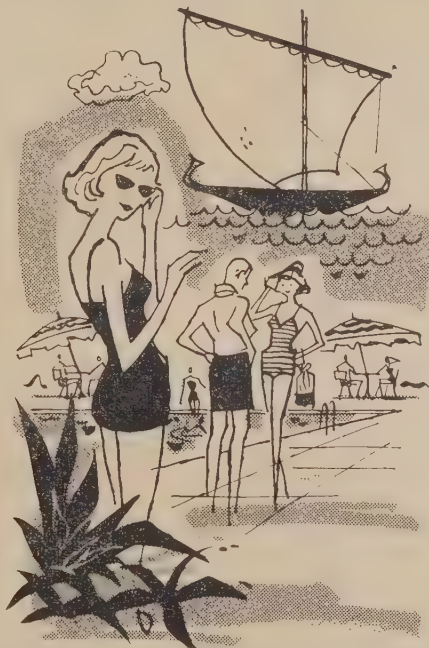
That, by and large, seems to be the formula for formal presentations at the opening sessions of this new General Assembly of the United Nations.

There was Selim Sarper, of Turkey, for

instance. At first, he followed the pattern, but then his confusion showed up as he referred, rather plaintively, to recent Middle Eastern events. What had his Government done wrong in reacting as it had to Syrian developments?

**Brotherly ties;** Turkey had a keen interest in all happenings affecting the geographical region in which it existed. The Arab states occupied a very important position in the Middle East and the sentiments "of the Turkish people towards all their Arab neighbours stem

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from brotherly ties strengthened by common cultural and social bonds."

Turkey, which was primarily interested in the establishment of peace, stability and progress in the Middle East, was anxious to see a reign of harmony and brotherly co-operation "among our Arab neighbours themselves."

So, when Syria and Egypt decided to unite, "we recognised this union born of the free will of the people in the two countries of that time, and our wish was that the new United Republic would inaugurate an era of happiness and prosperity for all its citizens."

**Difficult to understand:** But, then "our Syrian neighbours proclaimed their decision to revert to their former status of a separate and independent State. For its part, the Government of the United Arab Republic proclaimed that it would not oppose such a decision by force and would leave it to the Syrian people to decide their future."

Turkey's attitude, as before, was "to recognise the decision of the peoples concerned." So why had Cairo reacted so violently?

"We find it difficult to understand how this clear position of the Turkish Government, which was based on the attitude of all concerned, could be misinterpreted as though it was against anyone. Turkey has a common frontier of over 400 miles with Syria. This frontier contains trade routes, transit connections, communications and other links of common interest.

"Under these circumstances, it is only natural that Turkey has found it appropriate to recognise the existing reality as accepted by all concerned, and that we should have done so before some other countries which are located geographically at a greater distance than Turkey."

**Support from Guinea:** But it was Pale-



NOT WANTED IN SYRIA  
U.A.R. Ministers Okasha and Rifat

stine and not the Syrian-Egypt affair that exercised Arab spokesmen in their public declamations before the Assembly. Libya's Fekini insisted that the "United Nations must find a just and equitable solution which would redress the injustice caused to the Arabs of Palestine and to the integrity of their homeland. It is necessary that the United Nations do everything to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and to permit the Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland, to their fields and the land of their ancestors."

Fekini made this plea just two or three sentences before bemoaning the lot of the Arabs in Israel who continued to be "victims of extortion, discrimination and martial law . . . of unjust measures which threaten their very existence."

The Arabs found Guinea backing them when Mr. Beavogui demanded that the United Nations do "all it can to put an end to the terrible problem of Palestine." But he offered no specific plan, nor did Ahmed Shukeiry, of Saudi Arabia, unless his suggestion for the adoption of "a policy of dissociation . . . on the question of Palestine" can be termed a plan. His remarks were aimed mainly at the United States which "through economic and military assistance has made the existence of Israel possible."

The Saudi spokesman admitted that "the problem of Palestine is relatively dormant now," but warned that "it may explode at any moment." And he did his best to emphasise his remarks by adding: "As long as Israel is there, divided Jerusalem may prove to be more dangerous to world peace and security than divided Berlin."

## JERUSALEM

### BIBLE QUIZ IS ISRAEL'S BINGO

#### CRITICAL VOICES AGAINST NATIONAL "SPORT"

*from our Jerusalem correspondent*

More than three thousand people crammed into the Jerusalem Convention Centre and hundreds of thousands more glued to their radio at home sat tense with nervous excitement as, just before 2.30 a.m. one morning last week, a bearded, Yemenite rabbi ascended the platform and was faced with the challenge of quoting seven Biblical verses that either mentioned Israel's dispersion or prophesied its return.

With not even a moment's hesitation, the phrases came flowing from Rabbi Yihya Alsheikh's lips, and the chief referee's announcement "seven points" was drowned by the frantic applause of the audience.

Rabbi Alsheikh was the winner of Israel's second (triennial) International Bible Contest.

**Point for point:** Many of those who applauded Alsheikh, however, while not begrudging him his victory, felt that the honour of first place should have been shared between him and the runner-up, Brazilian housewife and mother of four, Yolanda da Silva.

Throughout the gruelling ten hours of the test (in two stages, one in the morning, and the second under the glare of floodlights at night) she had kept pace with Alsheikh, point for point.

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LAST LEG OF THE CONTEST  
Premier, President and Speaker at the finals

Soon after midnight, thirteen of the eighteen original entrants were eliminated, the remaining five finalists being Alsheikh and da Silva together with Tuvia Goldmann (an ex-Israeli, now a U.S. citizen, representing the U.S.), Edmund Read, a schoolmaster from Christchurch, New Zealand, and Jacob Johannes Combrijnk, a Seventh Day Adventist minister from South Africa.

**Ben-Gurion joins in:** The finals, which should have produced the winner, resulted in a tie between the rabbi and the housewife, both of whom received 58 points, leaving all the others far behind.

The referees, advisers and experts went into a huddle, joined by a distinguished member of the audience, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion. Should the world title be split? Ben-Gurion was in favour. But, in the end, a majority of the referees decided to try a tie-breaker in the form of the question about Israel's dispersion or return.

The score for a complete answer was seven points. Yolanda da Silva got only five, which gave Alsheikh an advantage of two points and the crown. Critics thought that the final question was unfair because a Jew (and a rabbi living in Israel at that) would be more familiar with such obviously Jewish aspects of the Bible as dispersion and return than a Christian.

**Wigoder's brainwave:** The public, which had taken Yolanda to its heart, gave her a huge ovation.

It was the dramatic climax of an event which has become as popular in Israel as football although, as a rule, the two

pastimes do not have the same supporters.

The brainchild of Kol Israel's Director of Overseas Programmes, ex-Londoner Geoffrey Wigoder, the Bible Contest first took place in 1958 as one of the highlights of the Tenth Anniversary Year festivities. The sponsor, Kol Israel, invited radio and television networks throughout the world to hold national Bible contests, and Kol Israel, for its part, offered free return air fare to Israel and one week's hotel accommodation for the national winners.

**Junior championship too:** Thirteen countries plus Israel took part in the competition three years ago which resulted in the rags-to-riches story of Amos Haham, an invalid, destitute clerk living in a lean-to shack in a slum quarter whose phenomenal Bible knowledge gain him, practically overnight, a scholarship at the university, a flat, a wife and an assured future.

The 1958 contest proved so successful that it was decided to make it an annual event, every third of them to be followed by an international contest.

Since then the passion for Bible quizzes has spread with a little of the British fervour for Bingo. There is a Bible championship in the Army, in the Nachal, in Gadna, in secondary schools, a national junior competition and, above all, the national championship.

It must be confessed, however, that the national competition is on a much higher level than the world contest. Apart from Yolanda da Silva, it is doubtful whether any of the other foreign participants would have got as far as district level in Israel. For this reason, the questions were, in the main, easier than in the national contest and the referees leaned over backwards to be fair. In doubtful cases they awarded points for only partial answers and when a contestant fluffed a question completely, they gave him another.

Not that Alsheikh and da Silva needed such help. It was only the Brazilian housewife's misfortune that the last question, in which she lost two points to her rival, was quite out of character with the rest. She took it in good spirit, though, conceded that Alsheikh was better and on the spot presented him—as a gesture of the good loser—with what she thought was a Hebrew copy of the Bible. It turned out to be the New Testament in Yiddish.

**Wrong stress?** The Bible contest has become a truly popular "sport" in Israel, but, soon after this year's competition was over, some vigorous voices were heard in the press complaining that the contest had become too much of a sport. *Ha'aretz* in particular charged that too much stress was laid on memorising whole chapters of the Bible rather than upon showing a deeper understanding of it.

But it is hard to see how the nature of the contest could be changed without detracting from its popularity. If scholarship is to be tested, we might end up with Professor Yeheskel Kaufmann and Professor Reinhold Niebuhr as the finalists. The contest would be on an undoubtedly high level, but would become an exercise only for experts.



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## BOOKS

### WHAT KIND OF HEROES?

THE STORY OF THE FRENCH FOREIGN LEGION, by Edgar O'Ballance; 253 pp., index; (Faber) 30s.

THE LEGION OF THE DAMNED, by John Townsend; 190 pp.; (Elek) 20s.

Mention of the Foreign Legion inevitably recalls Ouida's novel, which first roused the interest of the British public in this famous corps of mercenary soldiers, formed in 1830, and conjures up visions of devil-may-care heroes holding out against heavy odds in their Beau Geste desert forts.

Now, after 130 years of existence, some of the brigades of the Foreign Legion have been disbanded by General de Gaulle because of the part played in the April revolt aimed at the secession of Algeria from Metropolitan France. Paradoxically, Algeria is both the cradle and the creation of the Legion and its long and difficult conquest is largely the history of the Legion. The two are almost inseparable.

In his *Story of the French Foreign Legion*, Major O'Ballance sees the Legion as the last survivor of a long and glittering line of mercenary troops, a relic of the days when Europe swarmed with companies led by swashbuckling captains who sold their swords to the highest bidder. It seems that the author accepted uncritically all the material put at his disposal by the Legion authorities. Not only did he swallow this wholesale, he goes out of his way to glorify not only the feats and battles of the Legion, its tough code and unique endurance, but also to exonerate it of alleged sadistic behaviour. His book is a catalogue of the Legion's campaigns: the total conquest and permanent occupation of Algeria which took more than thirty years, the unfortunate Mexican expedition in support of Maximilian's throne, the war against Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia, and the long campaign in Indo-China from 1883 to 1895 and after the last war. In Africa the Legion fought against the famous women warriors of Dahomey, in the mountains of Morocco and Madagascar; and in the Middle East, in Syria, against the Druse.

Even as far back as 1857, the Germans formed the largest group in the Legion, a distinction they have generally maintained ever since, with the Belgians, Italians, and Poles following in numbers.

The reasons for their joining were either criminal, domestic or economic, though there were always a number of professional soldiers who knew no other life.

About 1880, the maxim of *Legio patria nostra* became officially adopted in practice as well as principle and absolutely no information about serving legionnaires was ever given. The Legion therefore became a refuge and a shelter for the homeless, the stateless and the fugitive. In return for its protection and security, the Legion demanded undivided allegiance and loyalty and the men were persuaded that this was a "world of its own." Recruits were indoctrinated with its traditions and aspirations and trained to emulate its former heroes who had little regard for their own or other lives.

There could hardly be a greater contrast with O'Ballance's book than John

Townsend's *Legion of the Damned*, as the title indicates. Whereas the first is an uncritical magpie accumulation of detailed facts—which undoubtedly may prove useful to some students of military history—Mr. Townsend's approach to the Legion is purely subjective. As one of the very few Englishmen to have served in the Legion, he found himself right from the start an outsider who did not belong to any of the particular national cliques, where the Germans, many of them minor Nazi war criminals, predominated. Townsend, who joined the Legion in 1954 found none of the romantic adventure for which he had enlisted. Instead, he writes of a "hang-over of horror," the brutalities, the sadistic punishments dealt out to legionnaires and innocent *fellaghas* alike.

"The Legion was comprised of men paid to kill without compunction or



The advertisement features a man in a dark suit, white shirt, and striped tie, standing with one hand in his pocket and holding a cane. To his left is a large, dark rectangular sign with the Saxon Hawk logo (a hawk's head with a crown) and the text "SAXON HAWK" in large, bold, serif letters. Below this, in smaller letters, it says "HAND FASHIONED BY HEADROW". Above the sign, the text "Clothes with the HIDDEN DIFFERENCE" is written in a serif font. At the top left of the advertisement is a small Saxon Hawk logo with the word "SAXON" above it and "HAWK" below it. At the bottom of the advertisement, it says "STYLED BY HUNTSMAN or Savile Row LONDON".

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argument. It was an army with neither pity nor compassion nor love. It was a legalised army of murderers; the principles of its constitution were all wrong. As members of it everyone of us had become something a little less than human."

Townsend wrote this account to ease and perhaps partially to erase the memory of his experiences in fighting the F.L.N., of the *ratissages* ("raking over" of an area), the tortures, the sheer bestiality which the environment brought out in some of the men, particularly the former Nazis who represented 50 per cent of the n.c.o.'s. As the legionnaires marched to the songs of Rommel's Afrika Korps, sadistic punishments for trivial infringements, quite disproportionate to the crime, were meted out to them.

Townsend's spell in the Legion ended with a death sentence for "the disclosure of military secrets to a foreign power." He had, in fact, written two articles for the *Manchester Evening News*, describing conditions in the Foreign Legion, which he managed to send home through a Tunisian girl. After 34 days in the death cell and many grillings by the Deuxième Bureau he was mysteriously released, without explanation.

It is a pity that neither of the authors have really assessed the role of the Legion in the Algerian drama, or explained the curious inbred mentality that followed the defeat of Dien Bien Phu and which, in the end, affected the morale not only of the Legion, but the whole fabric of the French Army, parti-

cularly its top echelons. The defection of the generals, the current stand of the O.A.S. (The Secret Army) are all part of the same pattern, the same militaristic mystique which was the essence of the Foreign Legion.

Ilana Even

## A PACKET FOR THE EDITOR

HANNUKAH LATKES AND ROTHSCHILD'S MILLIONS, by David Schwartz; 206 pp., (Twayne Publishers, New York) \$4.

One of the major curses of the American Jewish press is the syndicated column. For a payment of just a few pounds a week, editors buy themselves regular packages of political comment, gossip, cookery notes and humour. They can thus, with very few honourable exceptions, apply themselves to the more remunerative task of soliciting advertising. You can travel across the States buying weekly Jewish papers as you go—and only the advertisements will be different.

Freedom of the press as interpreted by too many American Jewish editors means freedom from responsibility, either to their readers or the profession of journalism. Personal profit being almost the sole motive of publishing, there is nothing left in the kitty to pay for an independent news service. The reader takes what he is given, mostly Jewish Telegraphic Agency News and Jewish Telegraphic Agency features. Opinion-making on Jewish issues is done by one or two

men performing a weekly writing chore in New York. And if their opinions happen to be not too bright on this or that issue, then it's too bad. Only in one or two centres are there newspapers employing independent journalists free to correct the errors of their mass circulation colleagues.

(Syndication also has its funnier side. There was the occasion when a widely-distributed set of cookery notes contained a wrong ingredient. This was not spotted until the notes had been reprinted in a score of papers across the U.S. No-one has ever reported on the domestic crises caused by the simple mistake of printing salt instead of sugar.)

All of which would seem to have very little to do with Mr. Schwartz. It hasn't, except that he has been contributing a weekly column of humour to the J.T.A. feature service for the past 25 years. This is a collection of his choicer pieces, a mixture of Harry Golden and *Readers Digest* fillers. Written for general circulation, they pander to the American Jewish need to be told what kindly, simple folk Jews are and how clever the Israelis are compared with almost anybody else. If you like that sort of thing, this is your book. But I challenge you to find the "belly laughs" that the publisher offers.

Geoffrey D. Paul

## THE FAITH OF JUDAISM

A Hebrew edition of Rabbi Isidore Epstein's work has just appeared in Israel. The 186-page volume is published by the Mossad Harav Kook in Jerusalem.

## LETTER

### ERNST SIMON

Sir,—There are some errors and misprints in my article on Ernst Simon which appeared in your last issue. Two of them are so misleading that I feel they should be corrected.

In the last paragraph, to which you gave the subtitle "Independent mind," it is said that Simon was conscious of "his own shortcoming," but what I really wrote was that he was conscious of "own shortcomings," i.e. *our* own, those of the Jewish people. The other misprint occurred in the next paragraph where I wrote that we should draw encouragement from God's *word*, and this was unfortunately changed into "God's world." I think you will agree that not much encouragement can be drawn from the "world" as it is today...

Robert Weltsch

London, N.W.6.

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# ISRAELI ENTERPRISE

*A Jewish Observer Panorama*

## NEW UNIT TRUST FOR BRITISH INVESTORS

### BANK LEUMI GIVES FINANCIAL BACKING

Unit trusts are nothing new in Israel, but the latest one to be established is certainly different. It aims at attracting investment from Britain, and its constitution is designed to make it of interest to all classes of investor—large, medium and small.

Where groups of people want to invest in the trust, the name of which has not yet been finally decided, they will be able to be represented in the trust through an advisory committee, made up of representatives from the various areas from which subscribers to the trust are obtained.

The first members of this committee will include Lewis C. Cohen, chairman of the Alliance Building Society, who will be the committee's chairman, and, among others, S. Bellman and B. Alton. The unit trust's constitution provides for close contact between the committee and the managers of the trust.

**Group from Brighton:** Lewis Cohen and Sydney Bellman head a group of investors from Brighton, and conducted the recent negotiations with representatives of a group of Israel banks, which led to the establishment of the new unit trust. Hence their place on the advisory committee.

The management of the trust will be in the hands of the Pia Management Com-

pany, of Jerusalem, which has assets of £17½ million (about £1,500,000). Pia was founded in the early nineteen-forties as a unit trust management company, and among its share-holders are a number of well-known Israeli banks, including Bank Leumi, Union Bank of Israel, Foreign Trade Bank and Feuchtwanger Bank.

As Pia already manages another unit trust in Israel, the experience and knowledge it has gained should be of great benefit to the new unit trust, and should enable management costs to be pared to the bone.

**Low running costs:** Bank Leumi will act as trustee for unit holders in the trust, and the Anglo-Israel Bank, which acts as Bank Leumi's London branch, will be the trust's paying and receiving agent and representative. The Anglo-Israel Bank will receive investments from would-be unit holders, pay out dividends, pay unit holders for any units sold back by holders and act as authorised depositaries for trust certificates.

Bank Leumi's fees as trustee are expected to be no more than ¾ per cent, a very low figure indeed. The remuneration expected by Pia for managing the trust will not exceed a non-recurring 1 per cent, and may well be much smaller even than that. This means that the total charges will be well under 2 per cent, a very good figure indeed, if it is considered that, in Britain, it is usually 3 per cent or more, and in the U.S. 5-8 per cent.

Since the Israelis are making strong efforts to encourage foreign investors, buyers of units issued by the trust can expect numerous concessions, including freedom from liability for Israeli taxes for about eight years, unrestricted transfer of income to Britain, and if units are sold, unrestricted transfer of the proceeds.

**Legal safeguards:** There are various legal safeguards for their investments, chief among them being the Unit Trust Law passed in April of this year. Under this law, which lays down detailed requirements for unit trusts, the value of the trust's assets must be declared by the manager and trustee, and published at least twice weekly.



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property boom

The law guarantees unit holders the right to sell back their units at any time and to receive in payment for them the exact proportion of the value of the assets of the trust represented by the surrendered units.

In addition to the precautions required by law, the trust has taken additional measures to ensure the safety of any funds invested in it. In order to be able to meet its obligations to unit holders in any situation, the trust will hold a 15 per cent liquidity reserve in the form of short-term securities yielding a reasonable return.

**Dollar-linked debentures:** Also, the Bank Leumi has agreed to back the trust, in case of need, to the extent of 10 per cent of the total number of units outstanding.

At the suggestion of the Pia Management Company, a large part of the trust's portfolio will consist of dollar-linked and convertible debentures. Share investment should be limited, it has been suggested, to those enterprises whose shares are likely to go up within a comparatively short time, for example, companies exporting to hard currency countries, companies likely to make a rights issue, property companies whose shares are standing too low for the value of their assets.

The promoters of the new unit trust feel that it not only makes a sound investment proposition, with reasonable expectations of a fair income and capital appreciation, but will also help to increase the flow of foreign investment.

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## FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Monday, October 16

**WANSTEAD & WOODFORD Z.S.** Synagogue Board-Room, 20 Churchfields, E.18. "Israel in the World Political Scene" lecture by Mr. I. J. Miller. 8.30 p.m.

Tuesday, October 17

**THEODOR HERZL Z.S.** 57 Eton Avenue, N.W.3. Zion House lecture series in conjunction with London University. "How the Hebrews Became a People" by Rabbi J. Kokotek. 8.15 p.m.

Thursday, October 19

**THE HON. EDWIN SAMUEL**, President of the PATWA Association will meet with members in an informative evening of "Questions and Answers" on "Israel and the Latest Developments in the Middle East." Common Room, Hillel House, 1 Endsteigh Street, W.C.1. All welcome. 8 p.m.

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## SPECIAL EDUCATION CONFERENCE

21st and 22nd OCTOBER, 1961

Saturday evening, 21st October at 8 p.m.  
Beaver Hall, Gt. Trinity Lane, E.C.4.

## OPENING SESSION:

Speakers: Mr. MOSHE SHARETT,  
H.E. THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR and Sir BARNET JANNER, M.P.  
In the Chair: Mr. JACOB HALEVY, M.Sc.

Sunday morning, 22nd October at 10 a.m.  
Adolph Tuck Hall, Woburn House, Upper Woburn Place, W.C.1.

## SECOND SESSION — Adult Education:

Speakers: Dr. S. LEVENBERG; Mr. LEVI GERTNER  
Presentation of activities by children of the Z.F. Day Schools  
In the Chair: Mr. JANUS COHEN, B.A.

## THE DAY SCHOOL SESSION at 2.30 p.m.

Symposium: Dr. NATHAN MORRIS, M.A.  
Rabbi Dr. KOPUL ROSEN, M.A. Mr. JACOB HALEVY, M.Sc.  
In the Chair: Dr. I. S. FOX

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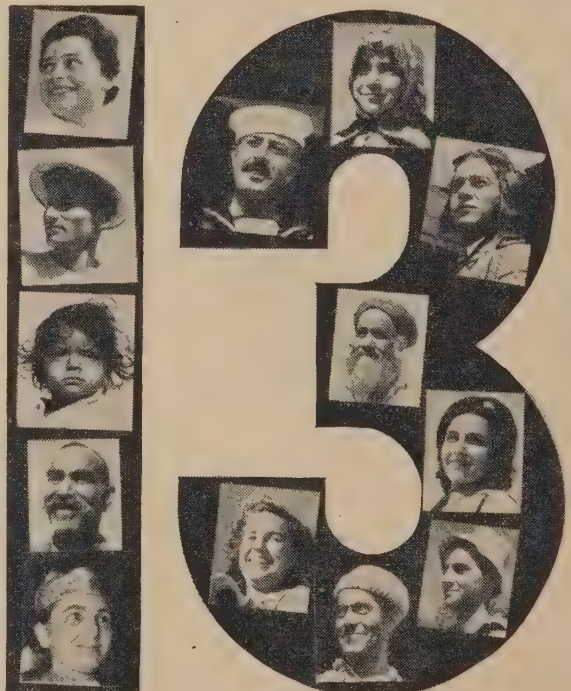
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# JPA-JNF NEWS

Prepared by JPA/JNF Public Relations Department, 4 St. George Street, Hanover Square, W.1. Hyde Park 2286/7

## SOUTHPORT LIFTS J.P.A. TOTAL TO £1,745,000

A community banquet in Southport last weekend that had Lady Stansgate as guest of honour and marked the inauguration of this centre's J.P.A. effort realised £8,000, thus bringing the national total for this year's campaign to £1,745,000.

Previously, Maurice Myers of Southport had signified a special personal contribution of £20,000 for a project in Israel. At the banquet he increased this by an additional 500 guineas, so that the total Southport contribution to this year's campaign stands at £28,000.

**End in sight:** To have reached almost three-quarters of the way towards our second million pounds is no mean achievement, because it now brings closer the possibility of equalling last year's total of £1,800,000. It will be recalled that this figure was some 11 per cent higher than the 1959 result, and it is therefore apparent that the break-through effected in 1960 has been consolidated.

While we are accustomed to look upon Southport's appeal as the campaign's annual "swan song," it would be wrong to assume that the national effort is finished. Two principal trade groups have taken on a new lease of life. These are the Furniture Trade, about whose function in association with the Orde Wingate committee we write elsewhere, and the Chemists, who are having their annual dinner next month with J.N.F. president Rosser Chinn as principal speaker. There is consequently every justification to expect the additional £50,000 required to equal last year's J.P.A. result.

**Christian view:** Lady Stansgate's hearers at Southport were evidently alive to the significance of their community's effort this year. They responded generously to this appeal on behalf of Israel as expressed by a Christian Bible-lover. What particularly had impressed Lady Stansgate during her own visits to the Jewish State had been the basis of social justice she had found in a formative society. This, she contended, was bound to become a lasting example to the world as a whole.

Among the other speakers at Southport were Nachman Englesberg, who touched upon the subject of today's unrest in the Middle East and its impact upon the State of Israel, J. Smush and Rabbi Dr. Silverstone, while Myer Fletcher

presided.

Our work in Southport owes its success to these veteran supporters of Israel, no less than to such enthusiastic committee members as L. Woolf, L. Solomon, J. Bloom, J. Rosen, B. Huglin, E. Caplan and Mr. and Mrs. H. Greene.

## KORAZIN FIRST HAND REPORT

Recently returned from a "look for myself" visit to the Korazin development area is Eric Rayman, the treasurer of the J.N.F. Golf Championships. He had been in Israel in his capacity of treasurer of the Great Britain Maccabiah team, and was accompanied by Mrs. Rayman.

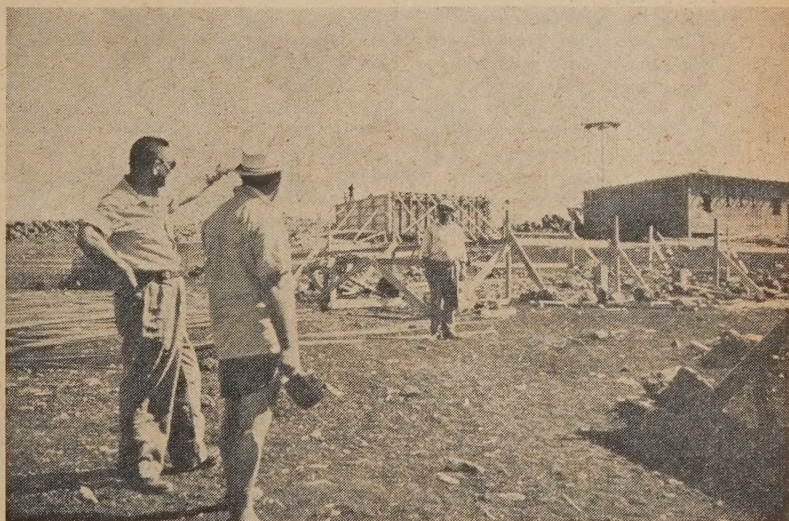
"We were particularly fortunate in having the head of land reclamation, Simha Soloveitchik, with us in Korazin," said Mr. Rayman this week. "Consequently, our visit turned into a thorough exploration of the 22,000-dunam project. Its scope is nothing less than the revival of a region of frontier-land that has lain neglected for over 400 years."

They had travelled to Korazin by jeep, for the road is still practically impassable. And Mr. and Mrs. Rayman arrived at the psychological moment when the buildings financed by the Golf Cham-

pionships were being erected (picture below). Easily recognised were the earth-works of the ancient synagogue of Karazza, after which the project has been named. What particularly impressed Mr. Rayman was the fact that everyone engaged in the revival of Korazin is aware of the special role which the Anglo-Jewish community is playing there. They all knew that Anglo-Jewish golfers were to raise £60,000 to be devoted to the region in the coming three years. In fact Mr. Rayman had, with Zvi Wineberg of K.K.L. head office, gone through the complete breakdown of costs and the implementation of the fund-raising programme.

During his four-week stay in the country, Mr. Rayman was afforded an opportunity to visit all the major J.N.F. projects of recent years, such as Adullam, Mount Meron and the Huleh drainage scheme. Needless to say, he played a round of golf at Caesarea.

He sums up his visit as follows: "I felt that it was a privilege to have been working on these projects. It is a pity that many more rank-and-file J.N.F. workers of modest means have not the opportunity to observe Israel's achievements at first hand. Perhaps now, with the establishment of the Maccabiah village at Ramat Gan, where young people and others are given facilities to stay both comfortably and cheaply, this will be rectified."



Eric Rayman with reclamation expert Soloveitchik (left) at Korazin.



# J P A - J N F NEWS

## THE GOLDEN BOOK

### A TRIBUTE PEOPLE REALLY LIKE TO RECEIVE

The statement of accounts which are to be presented to this year's J.N.F. annual conference on November 5 will show a small increase in the use of the Golden Book tribute in this community. It was anticipated however, that the introduction of a new design to mark the inscription in the Golden Book would have popularised this medium much more, combining as it does the granting of a unique Jewish honour with the raising of funds for land reclamation.

The J.N.F. administrative committee are firmly of the view that the Golden Book, by virtue of its history and character, should be so widely adopted in this country as to equal the Blue Box in revenue potential. It will be one of the tasks of the special sub-committee at the annual conference dealing with traditional activities to recommend steps on how this can be achieved.

**Highly valued:** It is not generally realised that the presentation of the Golden Book certificate is a tribute highly-valued by non-Jewish friends and the many civic and national personalities whom Jewish groups would wish to honour. It is frequently found desirable to inscribe the local mayor or Member of Parliament, a cleric prominent in the work of Christian-Jewish harmony or a business associate. Experience has shown that such recipients are delighted and proud to have the certificate enclosed in its new folder, designed like the actual Golden Book retained for public inspection in Jerusalem.

**Specialist work:** Commissions most successful in promoting the Golden Book are usually those which have elected a special "simcha" officer concentrating on this task. Family celebrations are taking place all the time. None of them should go without record.



*Just to remind you. The newly-designed presentation Golden Book certificate and its case, initiated in Great Britain and adopted by English-speaking communities throughout the world.*

### J.P.A. TRADE COMMITTEE LINKS WITH ORDE WINGATE GROUP

For the past two years, the J.P.A. committee of the Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades has been combining with the committee of the Orde Wingate Institute for Physical Education to raise funds, part of which would go for the provision of equipment and facilities at the Institute and so increase the output of trained physical culture instructors for schools and clubs in Israel.

Last year, this effort was centred on a Gala Boxing Show at the National Sporting Club in London and raised £9,000. This is to be repeated on December 7, and plans are proceeding under an executive committee led by S. Wiseman as chairman, S. Slesinger as treasurer, M. Steinberg and P. Steinberg,

joint brochure chairmen, and L. Hill, ticket chairman. The Orde Wingate group are planning to send a delegation to Israel next year to inaugurate a new building at the Institute.

The Boxing Show is preceded by a dinner and is, understandably, a "men only" affair. Tickets are 10 guineas each, available from any of the above or the organising secretary, S. Romer, at MUS. 3815.

## USSISHKIN PRIZE

### AWARDED FOR POETRY AND HISTORY

Shmuel Yavne'eli's two-volume history, "The Era of Hibbat Zion" and Hayim Guri's book of poems, "Fiery Flowers," have been jointly awarded the Ussishkin Prize. This is the highest award in modern Hebrew literature. A veteran of the Second Aliyah, Yavne'eli organised the early Yemenite immigration to Israel. His and Guri's works were selected from more than 40 submitted. The prizes are worth £2,000 each.

This year's award was made at the new Convention Centre in Jerusalem, the main hall of which has been named in memory of Menahem Ussishkin on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of his death.

### ST. JOHN'S WOOD AND HAMPSTEAD J.N.F. COMMISSIONS

present a

## GALA PERFORMANCE

### "DO-RE-MI"

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# J P A - J N F N E W S

## ISAAC STERN GROVE MARKS MUSIC FESTIVAL



The office of the Prime Minister in Israel, in association with the Government Tourist Corporation, have planted a grove of trees in the Jerusalem Forest in honour of Isaac Stern, the violinist. The first saplings were planted by Pablo

Casals and Mrs. Stern.

This is an official tribute to a man who did so much to make Israel's International Music Festival so great a success. Picture shows Isaac Stern speaking at the dedication ceremony.

## J.N.F. BRINGS ARAB-ISRAEL ACCORD

An agreement has been reached between Israel and Lebanon concerning the reclamation work undertaken by the Jewish National Fund on Israel's northern border-land above Metulla. The work demands extensive dynamiting in order to clear the rocks from the 65 dunams of land, and the J.N.F. has pledged to compensate for any damage caused to Lebanese homes or to the road that runs alongside the border.

At a meeting of the Israel-Lebanese Armistice Commission, it was agreed that the Lebanese police would stop the traffic when warned of dynamiting sessions.

## WIMBLEDON

J.P.A. contributors in Wimbledon were welcomed by L. Horvath when they attended a film show in the Synagogue Hall. The speaker was Rabbi C. Berg who, on behalf of the gathering, expressed appreciation to Mr. Horvath.

## LEICESTER

Under the leadership of Leon Clarfield, the Leicester J.P.A. committee has now raised £4,000 through its canvassing efforts.

## GERMAN PRIEST REMEMBERS THE VICTIMS

A forest bearing the name of Heinrich Gruber, the German priest who testified at the Eichmann Trial, is shortly to be planted as the result of the initiative of his friends in Germany.

This is a 70th birthday tribute, and Dr. Gruber had asked his friends not to send him gifts but instead to donate the money for the planting of a forest in Israel in memory of the victims of Nazism.

## A GROVE FOR DIEFENBAKER

At a ceremony in the House of Commons in Ottawa, a certificate for a grove of 1,000 trees was presented to the Canadian Prime Minister, John Diefenbaker.

The grove has been planted in the Canada Forest in the Judean Hills.

## BIRTH

A son (Simon) was born on September 29, 1961 to Dr. David and Naomi Brandon of 19 Dodford Lane, Girton, Cambridge. A brother for Jonathan and Deborah and sixth grandchild of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Shine.

## THE FLAG OF JERUSALEM

The Youth and Education department of the Jewish National Fund announces the results of this year's Degel Yerushalayim (Jerusalem Flag) competition as follows:

National Flag: Allerton Hebrew Classes, Liverpool.

Greater London: North-west London Jewish Day School.

England: Childwall Hebrew Classes, Liverpool.

Scotland: Edinburgh Hebrew Classes.

Wales: Newport Hebrew Classes.

Ireland: Zion Schools, Dublin.

The competition, which is organised in three rounds, is a feature of Jewish schooling and Hebrew classes throughout the country. Smaller communities were particularly prominent this year. St. Albans, for example, took sixth place in the national finals.

Stage one of the competition was a series of three written tests. Then came a points award scheme for tree-planting, and finally the semi-finals culminating in the children's Bible Quiz.

**New leaflet:** A new publication issued by the Youth and Education department is "Alim No. 4," the theme of which is "See the Land." This is an attractive geographical survey of Israel. The leaflet is clear and colourful in its presentation, and would not be out of place in the hands of an adult. The "Alim" series is available from the J.N.F. Youth and Education department at 65 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

## THE LIVERPOOL J.N.F. FUNCTIONS COMMITTEE

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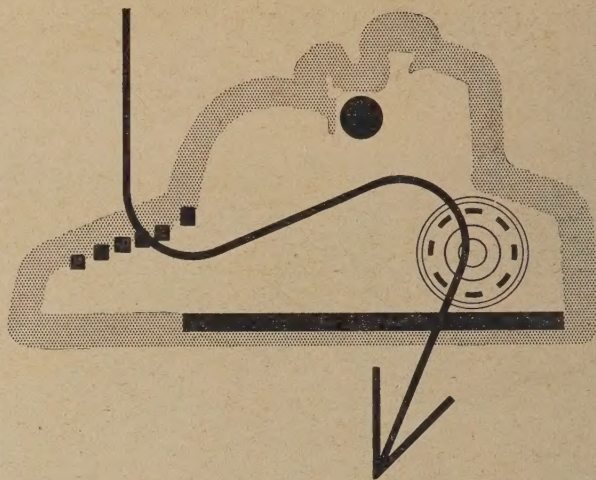


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